

PEACE NEWS

No. 193.

LONDON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1940

2d.

FEDERATION—HOW?

The Question of the Hour Discussed

CAN PACIFISTS SUPPORT FEDERAL UNION?

By C. E. M. Joad

FEDERAL Union is a proposal to form a common government to represent the citizens of a number of different countries in respect of those spheres of collective activity which are the common concern of them all, notably defence, trade, finance, population, and transport. "Notably," I repeat, "defence."

The Federal government is, then, to be equipped with an army to defend itself against aggression from Powers or groups of Powers not in the Union, and it will also establish a force to back the administration of Federal law within the Union. The question is how far can a pacifist support a Union so conceived?

Two Views

Pacifists may for the present purpose be divided into two classes: those who think that the use of force is always wrong, even in restraint of aggression, and those who would sanction the use of force to back the law.

For my part, I belong to the latter category. It seems to me that there is a perfectly definite sense in which any community of individuals is based upon force. I will try to explain what that sense is. A community does not rest upon force in the sense that its members obey the law unwillingly and are only restrained from breaking it by fear of punishment and imprisonment, any more than most States keep the peace unwillingly and are only restrained from going to war by fear of defeat. If these things were in fact the case, national societies would be impossible in the present and an international society of societies impracticable in the future. But it is, nevertheless, true that every society contains a number of anti-social individuals who do in fact obey its laws unwillingly.

Now evil is parasitic upon good; that is to say, it flourishes by preying upon what is good, in the sense that it is only worth while for some people to do wrong because most people do right. Thus the burglar is parasitic upon the householder, since, if all were burglars, there would be nothing to burgle. It is the many honest men who make lying fruitful, since, if all men were dishonest, there would be no prizes to be gained by dishonesty, while, if all told lies, nobody would believe anybody else and lying would lose its point.

Need for Force

Since it is the existence of law-abiding citizens that calls into being the law-breaking thug, it is clearly the business of the citizen to restrain the thug. The philosopher cannot philosophize while his neighbour is abducting his wife, nor can the artist paint while the burglar is running off with his canvases.

In this sense all civilized activity is dependent upon a minimum background of ordered security, and the maintenance of this background is a condition of its continuance. The presence of force, in other words, is required in society not against the normal, social citizen, but against the anti-social, exceptional citizen whom the activities of the normal citizens call into existence, that he may be restrained from rendering those activities impossible.

For exactly the same reason I would suggest that any form of Federal Government would require a backing of force, not only to maintain its internal order by protecting its citizens from the thug and the gangster, but for external defence, to de-

fend itself against the aggression of a gangster government which is not inside the Union.

Federal Army

Holding this view, I was an advocate of the doctrine of collective security, so long as the League bore some likeness to the first sketch of an international government into which it gave promise of one day developing.

I ceased to be its advocate only when it became manifest that the League was an alliance of *status quo* Powers concerned to preserve the terms of the Versailles settlement. In other words, I am a pacifist only in respect of the present European (Continued on page 3)

Only Chaplains Are Absolute Non-Combatants

—Official

MEMBERS of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department alone may be regarded as absolute non-combatants, according to information supplied by the War Office to Cecil H. Wilson, MP.

Mr. Wilson asked on January 11 which Corps in the Army are non-combatant and what duties are so described.

He is now informed (February 13):

The only personnel provided for in Vote A of Army Estimates who are non-combatants in the sense that they cannot lawfully be ordered to use lethal weapons are the members of the Royal Army Chaplains' Department, who are all Ministers of Religion. There are certain Corps, the ordinary duties of which are generally regarded as non-combatant, namely, the RAMC, the RASC, the RAPC, the RAVC, the AEC, and the ADC, but the officers of these Corps are commissioned, and the other ranks are enlisted on terms which do not preclude the use of lethal weapons. Members of the RAMC and ADC do not ordinarily bear arms.

The ordinary duties of the above-mentioned Corps are generally regarded as non-combatant. There are also certain duties performed by practically all units, which are by their nature non-combatant, such as sanitary work, clerical work, in hospitals and pay offices and so on. It is not possible to give an exhaustive list owing to the very multifarious duties which soldiers have to perform.

Wide Interpretation

If you are interested in this subject in connexion with the problem of the Conscientious Objector . . . the meaning of "non-combatant" depends a good deal on the point of view of the person using it. For instance, most of the duties of the RAOC in connexion with the storage and repair of lethal weapons, are not regarded as non-combatant by many Conscientious Objectors, and for that reason Conscientious Objectors, sent into the Army "for non-combatant duties," are not posted to that Corps. On the other hand, Conscientious Objectors who are prepared to undertake military service at all are generally willing to enter the RAMC, the duties of which they regarded as "humanitarian."

In short, their attitude depends on the general character of the work they will ordinarily have to perform and not on any official ruling as to whether the work is combatant or non-combatant.

INTERNATIONAL ORDER WITHOUT AN ARMY

By Stephen Usherwood

MR. JOAD! There's a war on! Soldiers are soldiering, profiteers are profiteering, and brave men are murdering each other, and all for this—that peace may reign on earth. That is the pacifist's aim too, so that he cannot help being more interested in what's happening, and in understanding it, than in fidgeting about with his conscience in the vain endeavour to make out precisely what degree of force there should be in the modern, or the future federal, State.

What is happening in Europe today? The final working out of the idea that armies, navies and air forces are means of ensuring peace—in spite of the most terrible warnings to the contrary. The Chinese, the Abyssinians, and the Spanish Republicans all relied on force of arms. The Czechs maintained to the last minute a large army and air force. Look at the results dispassionately and say, if you dare, that all those people would not now be better off if they had never had in their

possession one single gun, rifle or bullet.

But, you say, their armies were not strong enough. Then what happened in 1918 when the strongest combination of armed forces the world has ever seen won the most complete "victory" ever known? The generals were asked what boundaries should be fixed, what terms imposed in order that Germany should never again threaten peace.

Military Proposals

They proposed a vast military occupation of Germany, abolition of her air force, navy, and merchant marine, maintenance of the blockade and a ring of buffer States—Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland. All this was done—to please the armed forces—under colour of giving self-determination to small nations, and at the known risk of irreparably humiliating the new German Republic. But Foch himself had to allow the Germans an army of 100,000 to put down the German Communists. That army became the foundation of Hitler's present forces, that humiliation the seed-ground of his propaganda. And now, for a second time in the life of some of those very Allied generals, Germany has broken the peace—that was never a peace. Of their safeguards and buffer States not a single one now remains.

Can Generals Change?

After this, why does Mr. Joad seek to persuade us that a Federal Army would behave differently? Can generals change their spots? Presumably, from his references to aggression, he foresees that this Army would at first be mainly the British and French Army—now said to be "putting an end to aggression" on the most up-to-date anti-thug and burglar theory of war.

Why should its generals allow themselves to be pushed into the background at the peace Conference? Is it not far more likely that they will be there in the forefront of affairs, making their usual preparations for the next war?

But, however many faults Federal Union may have, it does seem to meet a genuine need among many, both pacifists and non-pacifists, who are trying to make plans for a less anarchic, more peaceful post-war world. Mr. Joad is too good a friend of the pacifist movement to want to see it misoperating where there is so much good will.

If I, as a pacifist, then put in my oar with an effort to persuade Federal Unionists to put Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge first, not last, in world reconstruction, I must not only give sound historical reasons; I ought also to produce some possible alternative method of achieving international order.

New Methods Needed

My objection to the federal State is precisely the same as my objection to the present nation-State. The nation-State has become one vast watertight compartment impervious to instincts other than its own. I feel the federal State would be still more vast and still more damnably watertight. It has all the faults of a purely political solution for what is not really a political problem at all.

The great mass of people in every country have been deprived of all but the

(Continued on page 3)

FEDERAL UNION propaganda has focused public attention on the possibilities of European federation. Pacifists differ in their estimate of the Union's proposals, and this week we publish accordingly, two rather different pacifist points of view. Mr. Gerald Bailey, on page 3, suggests a possible compromise.



YOU CAN IMAGINE WHAT SHE'S THINKING . . . one of the demonstrators of the Women's Peace Campaign in Saturday's parade at Liverpool. Other pictures and report, page 5.

STOP PRESS

A Pacifist Commentary . . . edited by "Observer"

THE arrival of Australian and New Zealand troops in Egypt shows that we must take seriously the possibility of the war spreading to the Near East.

But whatever gamble in human lives the warring governments may be preparing in secret, certain facts are available to all. A study of them shows why the Near East, for thousands of the years the meeting place of trade routes, is today one of the cockpits for the struggles of rival imperialist Powers.

Let us consider Germany's position first. Hitler has been pursuing the *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East) which recalls the "Berlin-Bagdad" aspirations of the Germany of the Kaiser.

One purpose of this policy is to secure control of the Balkan markets and sources of raw materials (particularly foodstuffs and oil). But the expansion of German influence in this direction must immediately arouse anxiety on the part of Britain—under the present competitive economic system.

Key to British Interests

It constitutes a threat to our sea and air routes to the Far East and to our oil supplies. The importance of these to British power has been well described by H. N. Brailsford, in *Property or Peace?* In that work, written in 1934, he shows how "the strategy of sea-power, with India as the goal, was the master-idea that dominated our policy" for many generations. He added:

"The end and the means turn in a circle. Only by sea-power can we hold India, but the sea-power of today and the air-power of tomorrow depend on oil and therefore we must annex Burma, hold Iraq by what is euphemistically called a military alliance, and control the ports which give access to the wells. Half of our history as a world-Power has turned on this sea-route. . . It was one of the considerations that set us in the Bagdad railway controversy, at enmity with Germany."

It is clear why *The Times* said last Thursday, that "Egypt is now, as in the last War, the strategic centre of the Middle East." That newspaper went on to admit that

"the neighbourhood of the Suez Canal has become the place d'armes for a great reserve force guarding the Middle East, linked with a powerful French force in Syria and ready to extend a hand in case of need to our friends in Turkey and the Near East."

Let us glance at the situation of these "friends." We shall find how Allied interests extend far beyond the actual frontiers of their empires.

Hold Over Oil Centres

First, the territories which produce much of the fuel of modern war machines, oil: IRAQ, whence great pipe-lines lead to Haifa (a British naval base in Palestine) and Tripoli, another Mediterranean port in Syria. The airway to India passes through Bagdad, the capital of Iraq. Although the British mandate over Iraq ended in 1932, the RAF is still an important factor in its internal affairs. There is also a British military mission and the police force has British inspectors. Iraq has already sided with Britain in this war. On its eastern frontier lies—

IRAN (formerly Persia). The British Government has a substantial share in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which works the large oilfields in the south of the country, although the USSR and Germany had, until the war at any rate, a greater share than Britain in the country's trade.

A glance at the situation of these countries will show why Britain has set out to secure influence also in Arabia, Afghanistan, and Palestine.

Let us return to the Mediterranean and to South-Eastern Europe.

In April and May last year, guarantees against aggression were given to Greece, Rumania, and Turkey. These lands are

Struggle for Power Behind Moves in the Near East :: "Sacked" C.O.s :: Versailles Again With A Vengeance

important in any strategy designed to bar the German drive to the East for the following reasons:

GREECE has important naval bases in the Eastern Mediterranean;

RUMANIA contains oil-fields under British, French, and American control. She also produces wheat. It has been rumoured that if she supplies Germany with exceptional quantities of these commodities, the guarantee might be withdrawn.

[Both countries, incidentally, possess territories to which Bulgaria (situated between them) lays claim. Thus there is tinder awaiting the spark which could cause a conflagration—if, for example, German influence in Bulgaria should increase.]

In the case of TURKEY, which completes the circle of Mediterranean "friends," the guarantee was followed, in October last year, by an Anglo-French-Turkish Pact. This provides for aid for Turkey if she is attacked by a European Power, or if aggression by such a Power leads to war in the Mediterranean area in which Turkey is involved. In return, Turkey is pledged to aid Britain and France in the event of aggression by a European Power leading to war in the Mediterranean and if the Allies have to fulfil their guarantees to Greece and Rumania.

Although the latter promise is not applicable against Russia, commentators elsewhere have pointed out that Russia has also important oil centres in the Caucasus area. One of them, Baku, on the Caspian sea, is near Turkey's northern frontier; it is linked by a pipe-line with the Russian port of Batum on the Black Sea, which is even more open to attack from Turkey.

Turkey is also linked by a treaty of friendship with Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan.

One more Power is intimately interested in the Near East: Italy. The importance of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea to her communications with her possessions in North and East Africa is obvious.

These, then, are the factors that may soon affect the lives of millions. They are symptomatic of the struggle for power that has produced the present conflict.

Instead of trying to turn them to our advantage as best we may by preparing for the war to spread, should we not aim to stop the war and create the conditions in which the oil would be co-operatively exploited and used for peaceful transport for exchanging the products of east and west?

C.O.s Lose Jobs

TWO employees are believed to be affected by the recent decision of Altrincham (Cheshire) Borough Council that, "as this corporation is engaged on civil defence measures, any officer of the Council who registers himself as a conscientious objector be advised to tender one month's notice to terminate his services with the Council."

As a refreshing contrast to this decision it may be recalled that when conscription was introduced at least two local authorities—in Bermondsey and Glasgow—decided to treat COs and militiamen among their employees on an equal footing. At about the same time Mr. Shinwell asked the Minister of Labour in Parliament:

"In the case of a CO who is employed in the Civil Service, if he serves his period in some other work of national importance and at the termination of that period he applies for reinstatement, do the Government intend to reinstate him?"

Mr. Brown's answer was "Yes." Even today, with war upon us, the Altrincham Council has its critics. "Cassandra" commented in the *Daily Mirror* on Wednesday of last week:

"Local government seems to be losing its grip."

"I've no brief for conscientious objectors—and I see no particular merit in grabbing a gun to combat those in other lands who are equally willing to pull the trigger."

"But I do think that if we are fighting for liberty, freedom of speech, and equality, those who disagree with us should have their say without being threatened with their livelihood—or with a truncheon, club or a gun."

The two young men affected by the decision

have decided not to accede to the Council's request that they should resign. They were given exemption by the tribunal on condition that they continued in their present jobs.

They have taken the matter up with the National Association of Local Government Officers. An official of the Association said on Saturday that he was by no means certain that the Council was legally entitled to dismiss the men or to ask them to resign.

After a meeting the Corporation staff decided to take no action. Should dismissals follow the request for resignation the staff will meet again.

"A French View"

IT is to be hoped that Professor Denis Saurat, Principal of the Institut Français, was speaking only for himself when he gave "A French View" of war and peace aims at the headquarters of the Over-Seas

League on Wednesday of last week.

He wanted Germany totally disarmed for thirty or fifty years, and military occupation of all the chief towns in order to supervise disarmament. After three or four years the Americans should be called in, together with other neutrals, and the Germans also admitted on a footing of perfect equality, to establish peace and liberty.

"Footing of perfect equality" is good: in order to achieve it, the Germans will presumably occupy French and British towns for fifty years to supervise Allied disarmament!

This sort of thing is Versailles with a vengeance, and provides ammunition for Dr. Goebbels' propaganda machine inside Germany. If the French Government really desires one day to make peace with the German people it should disown Professor Saurat without delay.

The best way to deal with such expressions of opinion, of course, would be for the Allies to state upon what terms they would make peace now. The vague phrases we have had will not undo the harm caused by such speeches as those of Professor Saurat—which, by the way, was given a fair amount of space in *The Times*.

Among 24 ministers who issued a statement of support for Councillor C. W. Searson, "Stop-the-War" candidate at the Central Southwark by-election (result of which was announced last week) were: Ven. Percy Hartill, Archdeacon, Stoke-on-Trent; Rev. C. B. Holland, Vicar of Ewell; Rev. D. R. Mace, Archway Central Hall; Canon C. E. Raven, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.

Therefore . . . By WILFRED WELLOCK CONCERNING THAT NEW EUROPE

REPEATEDLY since the commencement of the war, both the Prime Minister and Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary, have emphasized in their pronouncements on Peace Aims, the intention to create a New Europe when the war is over and Hitlerism has been overthrown.

But when it comes to the actual measures by which this New Europe is to be created, both these gentlemen become exceedingly vague. I believe they are sincere, but equally I believe they are crediting the capitalist system with a power of world economic recovery after the war which it does not possess. They have declared Britain's readiness to make whatever sacrifices are necessary in order to guarantee adequate supplies—of food and raw material—to Germany, &c.

The nature and extent of these sacrifices we do not know, but we have been led to believe they include, say, the Ottawa Agreements and Empire Preferential tariffs. Latterly, however, the tendency has been to lay increasing stress on the Franco-British economic alliance, and to suggest that the solution of Europe's economic problems lies in the development of this alliance.

I do not find that proposal too reassuring. A Franco-British economic alliance would in fact constitute a very powerful economic monopoly, which could exercise overwhelming pressure on countries whose policies fell foul of Franco-British interests. Also it could be an effective instrument for enforcing the terms of any Peace Treaty which might follow the war, in the same way that the League of Nations has been used by Britain and France to maintain the Balance of Power as established by the Versailles Treaty.

But surely we can rely upon a just peace this time?

I wish I could think so. According to my calculations, the new Peace Treaty will be even worse than the last.

Some five years ago, Sir Samuel Hoare, as Foreign Secretary, stated in a speech at Geneva, which was hailed throughout the world as heralding a new era in international affairs, that Great Britain was ready to make sacrifices whereby the raw materials of her empire would be made accessible to the countries in need of them. But nothing happened, despite the grave crises that have since overtaken our civilization, culminating in the present war. The explanation is, the refusal of powerful vested interests to forgo the advantages of very profitable monopolies.

If these interests have not been prepared to make sacrifices during recent years, I am confident they will not be inclined to make them in the economic conditions which will follow this war. The

forces within capitalism which make for collapse, operate at their maximum strength during war. The enormous increase in the world's power of production, due to world concentration on armaments manufacture, and the efforts of the neutral States to capture the peace-time trade of the belligerent Powers, along with other factors are insuring a post-war slump of unprecedented dimensions, which will be intensified by a mountain of debt and the threat of national bankruptcy over a wide area.

No wonder statesmen hesitate to declare Peace Aims!

Therefore we may conclude:

- (1) That the promised new Europe will not emerge from this war, and
- (2) That a new Europe can only arise out of a new spirit manifested in a revolutionized social order.

A Positive Policy for Pacifists

A course of 10 lectures on the fundamental basis of social justice will be held every Monday from 7-9 p.m. by the Henry George School of Economics at 63c Buckingham Gate, S.W.1, commencing Monday, 4th March. 6d per session or 4s. the course. For particulars apply to Hon. Secretary, Henry George School of Economics, 132 Kingshill Avenue, Hayes, Middlesex.

PRINTING and PUBLICITY

W. J. FOWLER & SON, LTD.

245-7 CRICKLEWOOD BROADWAY, LONDON, N.W.2

Telephone: GLAdstone 1234

100% Members Peace Pledge Union

NEW SCENE

Politics, Religion, Language : Tract Fourteen

by ALFRED Hy. HAFFENDEN

As in previous Tracts, the author aims to provide a basis and manual for constructive thought and action. The vital relation between democracy and religion, between anarchism, pacifism and mysticism, is demonstrated and established.

3/6 The C. W. DANIEL Co., Ltd. 40 Great Russell St., W.1, or bookseller



The zone of British interests in the Near East, where Allied troops are now concentrating, is shown in this map by J. F. Horrabin in "An Atlas of Current Affairs" (Gollancz)

Order Without An Army

(continued from page 1)

last vestige of initiative and choice in the conduct of their daily lives, not, in the first place, by governments, but by the industrial revolution and the concentration of capital. After that, it was easy for governments to assume control of foreign affairs. That is why, to escape from the present deadlock, the peoples must refuse to bear arms in the service of governments which have usurped their initiative and choice. But they must also invent quite new methods of their own, independent of governments, for the reconstruction of international society.

The governments of today have run off the rails because the best educated, most humane and most skilful people in each country have habitually ignored politics and never organized themselves to resist the drift towards war. But surely they could unite for the purpose of repairing the vast damage already done? In that very act they would be making the paths straight for a new international order.

May I give two examples? Today the doctors in each country waste their skill and resources in patching up men whom their respective governments send to destruction. Teachers train children to think for themselves, to choose the livelihood to which they are best suited. They find themselves drafted into the Army with all its dull routine and destructiveness. But both these sets of professional people could, by forming International Associations for the purpose, completely undermine the destructive intentions of their respective governments.

They could build up an International Parliament of Labour and Service representing, through trades unions and professional bodies, all workers by brain or hand. They could form a functional, not a federal, union.

We are happy to announce
**ANOTHER 12-PAGE
ISSUE
NEXT WEEK**

NOW NEARLY 20,000 C.O.s

CONSCIENTIOUS objectors numbered 5,114 out of the 257,802 men who registered for military service on Saturday.

Those who have now registered as COs total 19,917. During the last war there were about 15,000 COs.

Those registering were men who, on December 31, had reached twenty but were under twenty-four.

The average of COs was 1.98 percent—approximately the same as for previous age groups.

Saturday's registration figures for England, Scotland, and Wales were:

England: 4,179 COs out of total of 218,207.

Scotland: 523 out of 26,335.

Wales: 412 out of 13,260.

Following are the totals for previous registration days:

June 3, 1939: 3,893 out of 224,172.

October 21: 4,556 out of 215,231.

December 9: 4,957 out of 238,585.

Registration of further age groups is now expected to proceed more quickly. On March 9, men born between January 1, 1915, and March, 9, 1920 (both dates inclusive) will be required to register.

Hospitality for C.O.s in London

Miss Nancy Browne, secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors (6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1) would be glad to receive offers of hospitality for COs travelling to London to appear before the Appellate Tribunal.

Joad on Federal Union

(continued from page 1)

anarchy. Holding this view, I should be prepared to back with force any international scheme for putting an end to the anarchy. Therefore, I should be prepared to back a Federal Government with an army and a police force. The conclusion is that for pacifists of my kind the support of Federal Union offers no difficulty.

What of pacifists of the first class? If they are prepared to support the police force for the enforcement of law within a community, they admit by implication that force may sometimes be rightly used. They will, then, have no difficulty in supporting the maintenance by a Federal Government of a police force to back the administration of federal law within the Union.

They should, however, in my view, go further, and, since a Federal army would perform in relation to aggressor nations much the same function as the internal police force performs in relation to aggressive individuals, be prepared to support the possessions by the Federal Government of

an army. For, granted the principle that force is necessary for the maintenance of national law over individuals, I can see no way of resisting the extension of the principle to embrace the use of force for the maintenance of international law over nations.

Pacifist Attitude

But let us suppose that a pacifist rejects this extension; or let us suppose that he denies the necessity for a police force to back the administration of internal justice over individuals; should he, then, reject the proposals of Federal Union? I suggest that he should not, and for three reasons.

First, he cannot but admit that, in so far as the Union was successful, it would abolish war throughout the area over which the Union extended. For many foreign offices all liable to bicker, many armies, many navies, many air forces all liable to fight, it would substitute one Foreign Office, one army, one navy and one air force. Now the pacifist objects to Foreign Offices, armies, navies and air forces; he cannot, then, refuse to see in the diminution which Federation would effect a gain, albeit a partial one.

Secondly, he consents now to live in a society resting on the police force and defended by an army. Indeed, he has no alternative. His position, therefore, in this respect will be at least no worse under a Federal Government than it is now.

Thirdly, he will have exactly the same right of advocacy and propaganda and, therefore, exactly the same chance of converting his fellow citizens to his point of view under a Federal Government as he now has under a National Government. Indeed, he will have a better chance in that the Federal Government, not being haunted by the perpetual fear of war, will not have the same incentive as a National Government to entertain hostility to pacifists and to suppress their propaganda.

Moreover, were he to succeed, the principles of pacifism, as he understands it, would prevail among a larger number of mankind than they would do, if he were to convert only the citizens of his own state. In respect of the first of these considerations, certainly, and in respect of the third, probably, he will be in a better position as a result of the formation of the Federal Union than he is today. In respect of the second, his position will be neither better nor worse. The conclusion is so obvious that I may, I hope, leave it undrawn.

Compromise: A Suggestion for Federal Unionists

By Gerald Bailey

Gerald Bailey, M.A., writes in the current number of *Peace*:

IN an article which appeared in the December number of *Peace*, Mr. Charles Kimber introduced to readers of this paper a discussion on the attitude of the pacifist and the pacifist movement to propaganda for Federal Union. . . .

Mr. Kimber began his article by claiming hopefully that Federal Union could be expected to unite a peace movement "hitherto divided between pacifist and sanctionist." Later he appeared to dash these hopes by submitting that the pacifist could, in fact, only subscribe with clear eyes and honest intention to the essential definitions of the Federal proposal by abandoning his pacifism. I think I am not misrepresenting him—here are his words:

"They (i.e., the pacifists) have still to make up their minds whether they wish to adopt a policy at all and whether they do not wish instead to continue preaching the pacifist attitude to life; if they do the former then there is the chance of a united peace movement, if the latter then with all respect it is my belief that they should not take part in politics."

Mr. Kimber is right in submitting that the pacifist cannot concern himself with political programmes without some compromise with the strict maxim of his pacifism. . . . But it is another matter to make a hard and fast definition of Federalism and then to challenge the pacifist to accept that definition as it stands, or go out of political discussion altogether and hold his peace. And I want to ask whether it is in fact necessary to raise the issue in that form?

The principle that the right to the control of any military forces which exist within the area of the Federation must be vested in the Government of the Federation itself, and not in the Government of any of its constituent States, would appear to be indispensable to the Federal idea, and it seems to me neither reasonable nor necessary for the pacifist to contest it. I believe I am right in saying that leaders of Federal Union would agree that it is the

acceptance of this principle alone that is essential to the Federal plan, and that whether the Federation shall or shall not possess a federal military force and federal armaments is another matter, to be determined one way or the other when the Federation is established. As Mr. Kimber himself says: "The right to control armaments does not necessarily involve the possession of armaments."

If I am right in this assumption may I submit to our friends in Federal Union that it would help very materially towards the promotion of understanding and co-operation behind the Federal idea, if Federal Union made clear on all occasions that (where military forces are concerned) it is the acceptance of the principle of federal responsibility alone that is essential to the Federal plan? . . .

This would clearly involve an official neutrality upon this issue for the time being on the part of Federal Union itself.

The avoidance of dogma, the retention of an openness of mind on the non-essentials of the Federal scheme would seem to be much the better part of wisdom for Federal Union, and to offer the best hope of fruitful and effective collaboration between all those—pacifist or non-pacifist—who share the conviction that a substantial inroad into the sovereignty of the individual nation-State is an essential condition of peace. . . .

New World Order: London Meeting

The National Peace Council will hold a public meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, March 12, at 7.30 p.m. with the theme, "The New World Order—its basic principles." Speakers will be Mr. H. G. Wells, Señor de Madariaga, and Mr. J. Middleton Murry. Dr. C. E. M. Joad will preside.

Admission to the meeting will be free, but tickets at 2s. 6d. and 1s. for the reserved area will be available from The Council, at 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. A large demand for tickets is anticipated, and early application is advised.

BIS DAT QUI CITO DAT

(Thus explained the minister, humorously, when he had the collection taken at the beginning of his meeting, although certain soulless members of the audience preferred to attribute the eccentricity to a lack of confidence in the purse-opening qualities of his coming discourse; the tag at the same time evidencing that touch of culture so essential today.)

We wish to adapt the saying: to declare that to invest quickly is to invest twice. Twice is no doubt a slight exaggeration, since over-statement is the essence of an adage: but the fact remains that shares issued by St. Pancras Building Society after March 31st will bear interest at three-and-a-half per cent., whereas those issued before that date earn four per cent. free of income tax.

The moral is to take up your shares now, without delay. In this matter time is not on your side, and must be taken firmly by the forelock!



SAVE TO

CONSTRUCT

Managing Director: E. W. BALES

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY
ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARKWAY, N.W.1.

BRING PEACE NEARER

by offering

FEDERAL UNION

to the German People!

QUEEN'S HALL

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24

at 8 p.m.

Chairman:

SIR DRUMMOND SHIELS

Speakers:

W. B. CURRY, CHARLES KIMBER,
BARBARA WOOTTON

ADMISSION FREE

Reserved seats one shilling
each on application to

FEDERAL UNION, 44 Gordon Square, W.C.1

MAX
PLOWMAN:CREATIVE PACIFISM
in time of compulsory and permanent war

PACIFISM is the activity of friendship. The expression of friendship is disinterested service.

It's a bit late for New Year Resolutions. Never mind. I propose that every pacifist who reads this repeats the first of these texts to himself every night before retiring and that upon getting up in the morning he says the second. For I believe they express the essential truth about pacifism; anyway, they are the conclusions I have arrived at after twenty years' consideration.

Both statements may be platitudes, but the more you think about them the more you realize they are hard sayings. For, there's no getting away from it: our lives are not ordered according to the pattern of friendship, and disinterested service is difficult to sustain. To begin with, friendships not competitive, but competition is the basic rule of the civilization in which we live.

THAT'S a generalization. To give it point, let's take an illustration.

Jones is a married man with three young children. He works for a peace society and is paid £4 a week for the job. Brown is a bus conductor. He too has a wife and three children to support, and because he is a pacifist he gives all his spare time to peace work. Can Jones's service to the cause be said to be disinterested in the sense that Brown's obviously is? For mark you, Jones can't afford to lose his job, and for the sake of his family he must cling to it or go on the dole. He is in fact compelled to have a personal self-interest in something which, ideally speaking, is completely devoid of self-interest.

That is the sort of cleft stick into which a competitive society puts us all. With what result? That the "natural man" in Brown will envy Jones his happy lot; while the "natural man" in Jones will tend to make him self-assertive and self-important in the activity of a cause which makes the renunciation of self-assertion

and self-importance the first article of its creed.

And again, mark you, it is nothing to the credit of any man if he possesses private means which keep him from being in the position of either Brown or Jones. If he thinks it is and thanks God he is not as other men, he had better get down to the study of the economics of modern capitalism as soon as possible.

APART from what is called "grace" there's no help. If Brown trusts and believes in Jones—if Jones regards himself as happy in being able to serve Brown, all is well and the shadows of comparison and competition will never cloud the bright sun of their pacifist friendship. They will work together in mutual concord and their friendship will grow the more ardently they pursue the common purpose.

But I think each of them will do well to bear in mind perpetually the precepts we set out with: Pacifism is the activity of friendship. The expression of friendship is disinterested service.

Pacifism is what it is just because it proposes something superior to the present fighting competitive order. It can only advance toward that by surrendering all along the line the so-called "advantages" of the purely self-interested competitive system of our society; because pacifism means generosity in action, and at bottom can mean nothing else. The ungenerous man is not a pacifist, though he may hate war and keep on hating it; for without generosity of spirit peace must and will remain a perpetual impossibility.

IT is a hard world in which to preserve a generous spirit: a very difficult world in which to give disinterested service; but pacifists have got to discover how to do these things today, or they will cease to

be pacifists. Pacifism today demands our complete devotion. To express that devotion in the terms of friendship and the giving up of ourselves seems to me the test of the reality of our pacifism in a time when the furtherance of national animosity and national self-interest are preached from the pulpits as Christian duty.

The giving up of ourselves. Most pacifists are anxious to give something in the effort to make peace possible; but have we considered what was meant in the old Church Service "by giving up ourselves to Thy service"? That implies self-surrender to a higher will than our own, and that surrender very often means the complete negation of our own personal desires. Giving up ourselves cuts the self-assertion and self-importance so natural to every one of us at the root.

But only so can pacifists either know or do what is laid upon them by the conditions of the world today; for the only adequate answer to militarism's demand for conscription for war is the pacifist's offer of real self-sacrifice for peace. Pacifism is regarded by those who don't understand it as the assertion of egotism. It is, in fact, the exact contrary. It is the willingness to devote all you have and are to the purpose of bringing peace into the world.

FOR the past four months a happy band of pacifists down here at Langham have been doing something which I think has been an attempt to put these principles into simple practice. It happened in this way.

The Peace Pledge Union had taken what was known as the Adelphi Centre for sixty-odd Basque children, and for two and a quarter years had maintained one of the most successful of these children's cities of refuge from bombing in Spain. During that time, thanks wholly to the efforts of pacifists within the PPU, these children, who were suffering from malnutrition and a

In this, the first of two articles, Max Plowman describes the beginning of the Voluntary Service Scheme at Langham

number of other ailments (notably faulty teeth) due to war-time conditions, were restored to health and given truly hospitable conditions to live in, and now most of them have gone back to Spain where they are living witnesses to the truth that pacifists in England are not people merely anxious to preserve their own lives.

But two and a quarter years of intensive occupation by a large number of high-spirited young children will entail a pretty considerable wear and tear upon any well-appointed house. Schools have their holidays in which the inevitable damages can be put right; but there were no close seasons for Basque House, so the damages tended to accumulate, and the long and the short of it was that when the last Spanish child left Langham the house was very, sadly in need of repair and redecoration.

It seemed to me that the cheapest and best way to make good was by means of voluntary pacifist service. Every pacifist putting in a free day's work on the house would be helping to lessen the amount of the PPU bill for damages.

So last October I issued an appeal for help and we started out upon what we called a "Voluntary Service Scheme." In this appeal I put forward the idea that the house and grounds (amounting in all to thirty-four and a half acres) might prove, during the war, to be of considerable use to pacifists in particular and the civil community in general.

But the local evacuation authorities were making inquiries, and if the place were to fulfil a pacifist purpose it needed to be occupied at once, or the chance might disappear while it was being considered. The scheme was of course primarily designed to give pacifists who were out of work because they declined the wages of war the prospect of maintenance and the hope of rendering genuine service to the civil community. I even suggested that pacifists might run a Convalescent Home for shell-shocked citizens if the bombers came over from Germany; and though some of my friends thought I was angling for war work, I still think shell-shock exists (despite medical opinion to the contrary) and that the inhabitants of Bermondsey and Bow would be suitable candidates for pacifist help if bombs were ever rained in large numbers on those quarters of London.

SINCE then we have had pacifists in odd numbers, according to the time at their disposal, at work on the house.

They have given their services in return for their bare keep, and most of them have paid their fares here from London and more distant places. And from Room 20—which some naughty little boys with catapults had made something of a wreck—to the foundations of the house, they have been at work from daylight until after dark, usually six and a half days a week, doing every imaginable—and some unimaginable—kind of house repair: for nothing—except the cause and the pleasure of achievement in the company of like-minded young men and women.

My own response to their voluntary labour is the feeling that I should like to write their Christian names on a panel in gold, and present each one of them with the Pacifist Service Cross. But constructive work well done is its own reward, especially if it is done from a sense of purpose and in the hope of futurity. The real reward of these pacifists has been to know the meaning of "security in insecurity," the reward of those who have put the ideal of service in the place previously occupied by the idea of security, which I believe is the cardinal experience of pacifist faith. For they came of their own accord, without any assurances about the future, without pay and without promise, only in the hope that here, some day, somehow, the pacifist would be enabled to vindicate his faith in pacifism as a way of life by being of actual service to the community even in a time of totalitarian war.

Upon the deeper reasons why I believe such a scheme should be of tremendous importance to pacifists today I hope to write in a concluding article next week.

How We Could Make Peace by Negotiation

by
HORACE G.
ALEXANDER

IS a good peace possible today? By a good peace I understand a peace that will mean freedom for the Poles and Czechs and Slovaks, relief for the Jews, and a reasonable assurance that neither Hitler nor Stalin nor Mussolini will suddenly start a new war of nerves or a fresh aggression. (I have not forgotten Japan and China, but Europe is enough to start with.)

I do not think anyone can give a positive answer to this question, but there are strong grounds for thinking that it is worth a great effort now. If there is any chance of a real peace today, it obviously ought to be attempted, because it is only too certain that if the war goes on and becomes intensified, feelings will soon be so embittered that a good peace, a peace of understanding and conciliation and partnership, will be out of the question.

Already things like the bombing of lightships and fishing-boats are causing decent-minded English people to say: "These Germans are impossible. They must be put down once for all." And I suspect that if we knew what is really going on in Poland these feelings of horror would only be increased. Indeed, it should be borne in mind that, if we go on fighting for months or years to save the Poles and Czechs and Jews, there may be no Poles or Czechs or Jews left to save.

Talking to Hitler

THE reasons that lead me to urge the wisdom of negotiating now are not that I think Hitler is a much maligned man, or that Ribbentrop is at bottom a friend of this country. I am afraid they are about as bad as they are painted—perhaps worse. But that is no conclusive argument against negotiating with them.

The tragedy of Europe today, it seems to me, is that the so-called democratic nations have not shown the moral leadership that the world needs and longs for. Instead of saying to Hitler, "You are leading the world the wrong way, we are going to lead it the right way," our leaders have been apt to say, "For goodness sake do be quiet for a bit, and let us have a nice sleep in our beautiful status quo."

Upholding the status quo is no answer to a dynamic, explosive force like Nazism. The only effective answer (and it would be an effective answer) is to counter the immoral dynamic of the dictators with a deeply

moral dynamic from those who see the way the world ought to go.

Co-operation, partnership, unity: those are the watch-words of the new world. Once they are proclaimed; once the world sees that we mean them, Hitler will cease to be the world's gigantic bogey-man; he will become the pitiful creature, trying to push the world backwards, that he really is.

What We Should Do

IF now, while the war is on, this country began to do things instead of always shivering on the brink, and then being frightened back—if we would really make a solid agreement with Gandhi (which, in spite of all the "difficulties," would be an easy thing to men of clear convictions and real determination), if we would do something real about Cyprus, about Gibraltar, about the Suez Canal, about a dozen other imperial questions; if we would commit ourselves now to a great international plan for rebuilding the shattered regions of Europe, and for feeding its starving populations, to be brought into effect the moment the fighting ceases; if we would really set out along ways of this kind, without waiting to see if all the world was ready to march with us, people in other countries would begin to think and say, "Why, but we thought the poor English were tired out; we thought they only elaborated plans: behold, here they are really taking the initiative again and doing things. Whatever does it mean?"

And the tired Germans, driven hither and thither by their rulers, would begin to hear of it, and would say: "Ah, the English really are going to turn their Empire into a world partnership—a partnership of race equality, white and brown and black, in which the rest of us can participate. Yes, that is something much better than National-Socialism."

Keep the Initiative

THE Germans want peace. In a sense, Hitler no doubt wants peace. Make it clear that they can have this good sort of

peace any time they like, provided they really walk out of Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia—and make it easy for them to do that, don't make it unnecessarily difficult—and there is reason to think that you could get such a peace now.

But would it last? Would it not lead straight back to a new aggressive ramp? Yes, if we simply sank back again into our sleepy status quo.

No, if we insisted on keeping the initiative. "Very good, Mr. Hitler, we are glad to see that your troops are all out of Poland and Bohemia and the rest. Now, the economic conference is going to meet one month from today, and we are bringing precise proposals for a real European economic treaty. We hope you will bring your plans too. But we are determined to get the whole thing put through in two months from now. What? Not enough time for preparation. Well, we are sorry you think that. But of course no one can oblige you to come. However, the rest of the world is coming, nearly all of it, and we all expect to expand our trade. Of course, if you prefer to keep yourselves poor, that is your affair. But perhaps you will reconsider the matter. Anyhow, we shall always be delighted to have your co-operation. And we are going ahead."

And then there will be a colonial conference, to be called as soon as possible; and a disarmament conference. Perhaps that should come first of all. And Europe's economic conference can open the way to further steps towards federal partnership.

Difficulties? Yes, of course, there are ten thousand difficulties, many of them enough to daunt the bravest. Hitler had difficulties to overcome, and he overcame them. Are we going to admit that we have less determination than he? Of course the experts will point out all sorts of snags. That is what the experts are there for; to see that our brave new ship isn't too leaky when it first puts to sea.

A good peace is possible as soon as we have made up our minds what a good peace means, and as soon as we are determined to be daunted by no difficulty, but to keep on tirelessly, through defeat, despair and discouragement, certain that God is with us, and that every man and woman of good will in every land is our comrade in this high venture.

OBVIOUSLY

"THE history of New Zealand, whose centenary we have been celebrating during the week, affords another fine instance of the difference between savage and 'civilized' manners in warfare.

"In the troubles of the seventies the Maori chiefs heard that General Cameron's forces, operating against them, were short of food while waiting for the river steamers.

"They argued that there was no glory in fighting hungry men, and straightway sent down the river a little fleet of boats laden with potatoes and milch goats for the use of the 'enemy.'

"Obviously we couldn't be enemies on those terms, and we weren't again."

—Observer in *The Observer*, February 11.

Political C.O.s At Scottish Appeal Tribunal

From Our Own Correspondent

FOLLOWING is an analysis of the decisions of the Appellate Tribunal for Scotland at its sittings in Edinburgh on Thursday and Friday of last week:

Local decisions upheld	19
Changes to—complete exemption ..	2
" agriculture or forestry work ..	4
" present employment	3
" engineering work	2
" ambulance work	1
" non-combatant duties	1
Total	32

Of the nineteen decisions upheld, four applicants did not appear. A fifth, apart from having a conscientious objection to war, had taken steps to exercise his right to become a citizen of Eire, but the tribunal held that it was not competent to deal with that issue.

At the first day's proceedings there was a number of political objectors and although a few very good cases were presented, not one succeeded in obtaining a changed decision.

During the two days, six members of the Peace Pledge Union appeared; four received a favourable decision.

Of the two applicants given complete exemption, one was a member of the No-Conscription League; one of the points that told in his favour was the fact that he had assisted in the Clackmannan by-election.

Repeatedly, during questioning, tribunal members said they did not want to argue or enter into politics—but nevertheless did so.

"THE EARLY CHRISTIANS"

The title of *The Early Christians*, was erroneously given, in the review we published on February 9, as *The First Christians*. It is published by the Plough Publishing House (not the Bruderhof Press) and the price is 4s. 6d. and 3s.

Gandhi's View of Non-Violence

By J. Middleton Murry

UNDER the title *True Patriotism* Mr. Stephen Hobbhouse has gathered into a leaflet (published by the Peace Pledge Union) a valuable selection of Gandhi's sayings on non-violence. It seems to me the more valuable because it is an antidote to the rather superficial idea of non-violence which has gained lodgment in some minds: I mean the idea that non-violence is primarily a technique for the achievement of revolutionary, but peaceful, political change. On the contrary, in Mr. Gandhi's conception, non-violence is primarily a religious attitude, a religious conviction.

"Non-violence (he says) cannot be taught by word of mouth. It is kindled in our heart by the grace of God in answer to earnest prayer. It requires true humility, for it is reliance, not on self, but on God alone."

That is at once a difficult and a simple doctrine. If it were accepted, those who at present regard non-violence as a handy political technique would find themselves involved in an adventure of religious exploration which might take them to quite unexpected places.

Humility Essential

I need not anticipate them; indeed, I doubt whether I have the authority to describe them. On this occasion, I will simply insist on the essential quality of humility. For, as I understand that, the humility requisite to non-violence is something more than the attitude towards one's opponents which Mr. Gandhi describes in the words:

"Disobedience, to be civil, must be sincere, respectful, restrained, never defiant, and it must have no ill-will or hatred behind it. Neither should there be excitement in civil disobedience, which is a preparation for mute suffering."

WOMEN DEMONSTRATE FOR PEACE NOW: NATION-WIDE PARADES HELD

Message Sent to Premier

By SYBIL MORRISON
Secretary, Women's Peace Campaign

WOMEN'S Peace Day—last Saturday—was a day of bitter weather, but women were not daunted; women were determined to demonstrate their belief that the only hope of a just peace is Negotiation Now, and so, all over the country, they marched and paraded and held meetings throughout the afternoon and evening.

Details of successful parades, marches and meetings are coming in from all over the country, but it will not be possible to give the full story of this nation-wide demonstration until next week. It is unlikely that the press will report the day's proceedings, but our leaflets and our posters are our own press.

THE following resolution was sent from the Committee of the Women's Peace Campaign to the Prime Minister, with a letter informing him of the day's demonstrations:

"Believing that a just peace must be a negotiated peace, not one dictated by victor to vanquished,

"Believing that the Government of this country should see the way of negotiation before the degradation and cruelty of war has slaughtered millions and destroyed the fabric of civilization,

"Believing that our country, if it really desires a just peace, must show its readiness to make the sacrifices which such a peace demands,

"Believing that these sacrifices will involve: (a) the promotion of an improved standard of living for all peoples through the free exchange of goods and services and an equality of access to raw materials;

(b) the development of an international colonial system having as its object the well-being of the native peoples and their preparation for self-government;

(c) the surrender of some measure of national sovereignty for the building up of a new world order;

"We, the Women's Peace Campaign, urge the Government to take immediate steps for the opening of negotiations in conjunction with neutral nations in order to arrive by the method of conference at a just and lasting peace."

THE work of the Women's Peace Campaign has begun. Now for the next move. Churchill is asking for a million women to make the weapons of war; the Women's Peace Campaign wants the signatures of a million women who will refuse that call and pledge themselves instead to preparation not for war but for peace. That is our next move. Details of the scheme for carrying this out are under consideration and will shortly be ready.

We shall need money and we shall need help, and if we receive those two things in as good measure as was given for the Women's Peace Day we shall not fail. Watch *Peace News* and keeping touch with me at 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.



WOMEN'S PEACE CAMPAIGN. — Pictures of Saturday's demonstration: (Above) Poster bearer at Wood Green; (Left) starting the parade at Liverpool.

★ Reports of Campaign marches and other activities in the Provinces will be given next week.

Sumner Welles' Mission

Peace Council Urges Readiness to Negotiate

THE need for a sympathetic attitude on the part of the British Government to proposals for negotiation sponsored by neutral States is stressed in a statement adopted by the National Peace Council last week.

The statement declared that the Council "heard with satisfaction the announcement recently made in Washington referring to the proposed special visit to Europe of Mr. Sumner Welles, the Assistant Secretary of State, and to the discussions, which the United States is already undertaking with other neutral countries, on the possibility of realizing a more effective international economic co-operation and a world-wide reduction of armaments as the essential bases of a peace settlement. . . .

"The Council trusts that the possibilities of utilizing Mr. Sumner Welles' investigations as the starting-point of an attempt to find an early and an acceptable basis of negotiation will not be minimized. . . .

"But if this hope is to be realized, the Council believes it to be essential that the British Government should, publicly or privately, make clear its willingness to give sympathetic consideration to proposals for a basis of negotiation sponsored by a group of neutral States, provided these proposals are drawn up on the assumption that no issue is to be excluded from the negotiations and that the neutral countries will actively participate."

YERBA MATE

The famous health tea from South America. Brings sure relief to sufferers from Rheumatism, Diabetes, Insomnia, Indigestion, etc.

IN BOTH A FOOD AND A DRINK

Wonderfully sustaining, nourishing. USE as ordinary tea. Astounding results and remarkable testimonials from users.

1 lb. 2/-, 3 lbs. 5/-, post free.

YERBA MATE CO., DEPT. P.N., STOCKPORT.

FEDERAL UNION DEMONSTRATION

The Federal Union movement is to hold its first national meeting tomorrow (Saturday) when there will be a mass demonstration at the Queen's Hall, London, at 8 p.m. The case for federal union will be stated by W. B. Curry, author of *The Case for Federal Union*, Mrs. Barbara Wootton, distinguished woman economist, and Charles Kimber, one of the founders of the movement.

The meeting will coincide with a conference in London which will be attended by delegates from 217 Federal Union groups.

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST POLITICAL MOVEMENT

Send for a copy of the important pamphlet **PEACE NOW!**

by Rev. H. Ingli James, B.A., B.D., B.Litt.

Obtainable, 2d. post free, from 23 Clara Street, Stoke, Coventry (Mention "Peace News")

THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

by EBERHARD ARNOLD
A publication of the Brothers of the Bruderhof Communities.
If you have read John Hoyland's review in "Peace News" of February 9th, you will most certainly want a copy of this book.
4s. 6d. bound copies - 3s. paper cover.

THE PLOUGH PUBLISHING HOUSE,
Ashton Keynes, Swindon, Wilts.

Just Published

GEORGE LANSBURY'S

Important and helpful book

This Way to Peace

In this important book, George Lansbury, the distinguished statesman and politician, describes how we may come to establish a permanent peace which will abolish war for all time.

"One can read him with admiration and gratitude."

—*The Spectator*.

"There is much in these pages which sooner or later, will have to be faced, and even now we must see that only by reconstructing our life on a better basis can we have a genuine and lasting peace."

—*C. of E. Newspaper*.

Cloth 3s. 0d. net

RICH & COWAN

37 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

C.O.s Before Readers'

HAVING attended one of the local Tribunals almost as regularly as the members themselves, I am obliged, regretfully, to agree with Roy Ashby's opinion of COs (*Peace News*, February 9) that in many instances "their cases seem so unprepared—they do not seem to have thought and felt deeply enough on the matter."

Many men have claimed that their objection is on Christian grounds, yet when asked what teachings of Christ lead them to make that claim, they have been quite unable to say. A good many reply: "Thou shalt not kill," as if they thought that was a saying of Jesus.

Yet I do not believe that they are entirely insincere. They have picked up the prevalent belief that war is contrary to Christianity, but they do not realize that a conscientious objection involves much more than that. It requires an earnest conviction that it is wrong for oneself to engage in war, as much as it would be to cheat one's father or injure one's little brother. And when a man has to substantiate such a conviction before a tribunal, the least he should do, if he wants to be believed, is to study and understand his position beforehand, so as to be able "to give a reason for the hope that is in him."

May I touch on another point? It is well that a man should be clear beforehand what is his attitude to ambulance service or helping the wounded. I take it that most men's real objection to serving in the RAMC is that it is a part of the army and under military orders and control. If so, let him have that clearly in mind and say so. Let him not give the inhumane answer that he would refuse to help a wounded soldier because it would be patching him up to fight again.

But I cannot agree with Roy Ashby's statement that the unsatisfactory CO's are a majority. There have been many good testimonies given, and not a few men of small educational opportunities and little book knowledge have expressed an honest conviction of their own in a straightforward way, and these have had no difficulty in convincing this (Midlands) tribunal of their genuineness.

J. D. MAYNARD,

10 Wesley Hill,
Birmingham, 29.

Several points require expression in answer to Roy Ashby's letter.

The attributes of a genuine conscientious objection are, surely: sincerity, feeling, simplicity, true humility, some form of idealism, a willingness to undergo hardships, and a lack of anything affiliated to cunning.

If this be so, I fail to see why a bad presentation of any individual case matters so much, and is so "very unsatisfactory."

Again, it often creates an unfortunate impression among the non-pacifist interested public to hear of CO's jumping around swapping jobs and "doing something" now the stone-throwing has begun.

ERNEST LANCASTER,

45 Nichols Square, London, E.2.

Surely one does not have to have a spectacular record of church or pacifist work in order to be effectively working for peace. And surely also we do not necessarily have to be well versed in pacifist and other good literature in order to express the feelings of our hearts.

WILLIAM H. JENKINS,

14 Wetherby Close,
Aspley, Nottingham

However carefully a CO may have thought out his case before appearing in front of the tribunal, it is not to be wondered at that these young fellows may seem to put up a poor case.

One must take into consideration that everyone has not the ability to express himself. Also the members of the tribunal have had a far better education than that of the applicant.

MARGARETE SADLER,

42 Storks Road, London, S.W.16

After all, from the point of view of the public gallery, Christ's trial before Pilate was very unsatisfactory.

D. C. BRATT,

53 Glencairn Road, Streatham, S.W.16.

I attended the last session of the North-Western Tribunal at Preston.

I do not want to appear as being an egotist, but I have been told by many people that I put up an extremely good case. I back my objection with a thoroughly workable practical policy. I am at present studying for my final B.Sc. examination in Geography—a subject which affords endless arguments for pacifism, and with this and also additional literature which I have read and studied. I think I can at least claim to have come somewhere near Mr. Ashby's thought and deep feeling on the matter. I expressed this in my statement to the tribunal. When the tribunal considered my case I had about three-quarters of an hour of cross-examination by them, in which I held my ground fairly well.

In announcing a "conditional" decision, however, the tribunal refused to give any reasons for reaching that decision. A few days later, however, I received the official statement of my case, and the findings of the tribunal upon which they based their decision were set out as follows:

They stated that I was "most anxious to get notoriety and martyrdom. The former he has obtained by his behaviour and observations in court: he is hopeful that he may get the latter. Though the tribunal have very grave doubts as to whether he has a conscience, they are prepared, in view of the evidence given on his behalf—if they had solely to rely upon his evidence they would have thought him a humbug and demagogue—to accept the view that he has such a degree of sincerity as will justify them in coming to the conclusion that he has a conscientious objection to military service of any description whatever."

Looking back now, I think I can say quite truthfully that if I had my time to come over again I should refuse to face the tribunal. As

"Tribunal"

it is I have got so far and I intend to see it through to the bitter end; consequently I have sent in an appeal. What will happen there I don't know, but if it savours in any way of the treatment of the North-Western Tribunal, then I think it would be perhaps advisable if I—and any similar-minded youths—abandoned Mr. Ashby's and my ideas, and merely put forward an argument for our objection which is purely negative.

CLAUDE BIRTWISTLE,

Secretary, Colne Group,
Peace Pledge Union.

Constructive Peace

Philip Mumford performs a useful service in reminding us once again of the importance of giving a positive and constructive content to our peace propaganda.

I think he will agree that a good deal has already been achieved by the peace organizations in the way of defining the conditions of a desirable peace settlement. The National Peace Council, whose work reflects the interest and co-operation of most of the peace bodies, including, of course, the Peace Pledge Union, has in recent years persistently sought to educate public opinion in the terms of a constructive peace policy. The National Memorial for Economic Co-operation, the National Petition for a New Peace Conference and the present Appeal for a Declaration of Terms of Peace have successively illustrated this activity and have each contained something like a concrete programme as a suggested basis for a new international order.

Peace News has already referred to the important series of consultative Conferences on the question of peace aims which are at present being held under the auspices of the Council.

It is hoped to publish shortly—in the first place in memorandum form, but subsequently it is hoped in a series of pamphlets—the questionnaires on which the Conferences are being based, together with a report of the introductory speeches and the subsequent discussions.

GERALD BAILEY,
Directing Secretary.

National Peace Council
39 Victoria Street, S.W.1.

I should like to express my disagreement with the last paragraph in Philip S. Mumford's article, "Wanted: A Plan for the Coming Peace."

Surely it is better to have a few enthusiastic new members, who are in their turn carrying on the good work of showing the meaning and standards of Pacifism, than to be overwhelmed with many who are "half-hearted," and who are not willing to take part in any service for Pacifism.

RAE PURCHALL,

299 Marvels Lane, Grove Park, S.E.12.

Points from Letters

SPIRITUALIST PACIFISTS

At a spiritualist service held at Queen's Hall Sunday week, a spiritualist pacifist interrupted the speaker who was defending this government's action of going to war with Germany. A number of spiritualists also walked out during the address as a protest.

May I appeal through the columns of *Peace News* to these friends to link up with a fellowship of spiritualist pacifists.

RALPH WALTON, Hon. Organizer, Spiritualist Pacifists, 67, Farleigh Road, London, N.16.
(Continued on opposite page)

2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d.
Box Number 6d. extra

BOOKS

TRUTH ABOUT THIS WAR. The book for which Action and the New Leader refused advertisements. Truth says "so dangerous that the authorities should lose no time in suppressing it." Two shillings and sixpence from British People's Party, 13 John Street, London, W.C.1.

BUSINESS

SOLICITORS (London) would like to hear from another Solicitor or firm with a view to amalgamation.—Box 329, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

DRAMATIC

INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE (Forest Gate Branch): 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, February 27. "Glendale," 234, Romford Road, Forest Gate (500 yards from "Princess Alice"). Short plays by Cephas Street Dramatic Society. All Welcome. Special invitation to refugees.

ESPERANTO

ESPERANTO: Pacifist Esperanto League.—Secretary, W. J. Bridgen, 232, Sellincourt Road, S.W.17. ESPERANTO PRINTING—same address.

PERSONAL

BIRMINGHAM PACIFIST ADVISORY BUREAU. Advice concerning registration of CO's can be obtained by writing to the Secretary, c/o Friends' Library, 8 Dr. Johnson Passage, Bull Street, or calling any Thursday, between 6 and 8 p.m.

GERMAN PACIFIST REFUGEE, 25, perfect English, urgently seeks hospitality in return for service, language tuition or otherwise.—Box 330, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

MAN, MEMBER P.P.U. (Own place Central London), would like to meet another fellow (18-25), for companionship.—Box 332, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PLEASE PASS ON YOUR "PEACE NEWS" TO A FRIEND.

Mr. LANSBURY'S WAY

This Way to Peace. George Lansbury. Rich and Cowan. 3s.

THERE must be few members of the general public, and fewer pacifists, who are unfamiliar with Mr. Lansbury's simple Pacifist, Socialist and Christian faith. For those who know and share it, and for those who have still to be reached by it, this little book provides a clear and timely restatement. Though it was planned before the war began, its composition started six weeks later. It is, therefore, a topical contribution as well.

Mr. Lansbury's emphasis on principles is, as ever, stronger than his insistence on details.

"War never has, never can, never will, settle anything. . . . We shall never get a happy world until men and women are willing to establish a classless, equalitarian society. . . . 'From each according to his ability to each according to his need': these words express for me the way in which my duty to God and my neighbour may be best expressed. . . . I take my stand on the simple straightforward words of the Master: 'Love your enemies; forgive as you hope to be forgiven.'"

But he is not content merely to repeat these fundamentals: he tackles the immediate problem of stopping the futile slaughter and destruction and achieving some compromise round the conference table. Here he does not demand support for "pure and simple 'pacifism'." His object is to unite with others who will not go so far as himself in order to achieve the first essential, a truce. Hence, despite his own non-reliance on force, he is prepared to assent to the creation of a small international police force, all national armaments having been abolished; and to the internationalization of the colonies, though all domination and exploitation are repugnant to him.

Here are some 120 pages of ripe wisdom, albeit ramblingly stated at times, in the way of the much-knowing whose every statement suggests an illustration that for the moment seems to be a deviation. This is a book to read twice: once quickly, though carefully; then slowly, pausing to consider the full implications of the challenging thoughts and convincing conclusions which occur on every page.

ANDREW STEWART.

Suspect Pacifism

A Pacifist in Trouble. W. R. Inge. Putnam, 7s. 6d.

THIS book suffers considerably from the origins of its construction. Composed as it is of a series of articles written for a newspaper, the limit of words imposed must necessarily mean that the material is at times scantily treated, at times too drawn out. Then, too, there is the tendency to temper the harsh wind of opinion to the shorn lamb of the newspaper-reading public.

No wonder the writer is in trouble. For to take one step forward and be fearful of taking the second always lands a man into trouble, both with himself and with others. To accept pacifism and yet shirk its implications requires more jesuitry than Dean Inge possesses. By far the most interesting part of the book is the part which deals with the causes of war, the attitude of the Christian Churches towards war and, as distinct but related, the attitude of the Christian towards war.

Dean Inge points out that in the first centuries of the Christian Church, the attitude of the Christian Church was that all war was evil. This may have been influenced by the belief in the imminent second coming of Christ. But as time went on, the Church came to the opinion that a war of defence was permissible. From that to the general acceptance of war was but a step. But what brought about this change? The writer is chary of saying it outright, though he infers it in every paragraph. The acquisition of Power and Wealth. So long as the Church had only a spiritual and no temporal domination, then all men were brothers, equal in the sight of God and war was evil.

War's Origin

The origin of war is here rightly traced to two main causes, Fear and Power. On page 192, the writer quotes Lord Acton: "Power always corrupts. Absolute Power corrupts absolutely. Great men are always bad." The writer Unamuno, in his last letter to a friend (here I quote from memory) says: "The duty of the intellectual is to be always in opposition."

For all power, of its very nature, corrupts." But how far has Dean Inge gone into opposition? This is just the step this pacifist refuses to take. Far from wishing to change society, to mould it to a better form, he cries out that things should be as they used to be, so that he may leave his property to his children. But by doing so he supports the very state of things which has brought about this present debacle. To many, pacifism and progress are inseparable.

To combat Fear, the writer advocates Belief in God. Whether this be efficacious or not, I do not know. It is difficult to prove. For belief in God is not something you can give man like a paper parcel. It is surely a grace denied or granted. There are many of us who, while hating war, find it difficult to accept this solution, seeing as we do many who believe in God and yet know fear. But there are other ways of banishing fear. Hope for a better, more just order of affairs and courage to struggle.

A Matter of Prejudice?

Speaking of Bertrand Russell, who advocates that men should be ready to die for their faith, Dean Inge replies that he would not care to see a son of his face the firing squad as a conscientious objector. And again he launches into praise of the patriotic young men who die willingly for King and country. It is difficult to reconcile these words with the writer's unflinching support of pacifism.

The book deals with many questions. There is a chapter on Crime and Punishment which shows plainly that Dean Inge has taken little interest in the findings of the Howard League. To quote one of the most reactionary of his statements: "The law of High Treason ought certainly to be made applicable to political strikes, like that of 1926." It is strange to find a man broadminded enough to disapprove of imprisonment and yet find him argue in favour of capital punishment and birching.

The grave fault of this book is that it leaves you with the uneasy feeling that Dean Inge's pacifism, like so many of his opinions is more a matter of prejudice, than the result of thought.

MARGARET BARRINGTON

Classified Advertisements

Latest time for copy,
Tuesday morning

PRINTING

PACIFIST PRINTER. Handbills, leaflets, programmes, and general printing.—W. J. Bridgen 232 Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS

Vacant
GROCER'S ASSISTANT, country-trained, serve though take charge, live out.—Write Dean's Stores, Crawley Down, Sussex.

INTERESTING and responsible secretarial-domestic post, in London community, for person aged 25-30.—Apply Box 324, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN mixed farming for one or two pacifists, able to find small premium.—Box 327, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

Wanted

CARPENTER, CO, 23, portable buildings and general maintenance experience, requires agricultural or similar work.—54 Greenway Avenue, Walthamstow, E.17.

CO, Inter B.Sc., exempted military service. Experienced technical office work. Will accept anything.—Woodward, 125, Langer Road, Felixstowe.

C.O., 23. Civil Servant. Not very useful. Imaginative. Good French. Elementary Spanish. German. Employment needed urgently.—A. G. Battle, 10, Dorset Place, S.W.1.

C.O. (24). 7 years' experience Accounts, Cashiering, etc. Quick at Figures. Reliable. Desires clerical work.—Box No. 331, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST LABOURER (30) wants work in Leeds or Morley districts.—S. Leonard, 63 Westfield Crescent, Leeds, 3.

PROSPECTIVE CO, 19, seeks employment. Office experience, languages. Consider anything.—Marple, 329 Dover Road, Deal.

TWO POTENTIAL CO's, 25 and 26, require urgent change of employment. Willing to do anything in London. Very adaptable and keen.—Box 326, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

YOUNG WOMAN, pacifist six years' office experience, organizing, executive and general; driving; studying theatre independently (writer's angle); interested arts and humanity; free March to work London or provinces, part or whole-time, medium salary.—Box 333, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

TYPEWRITING

FIRST-CLASS TYPEWRITING and Duplicating.—Mabel Eyles, 51 Ruskin Walk, Herne Hill, London, S.E.24. Brixton 2863.

LAMB BRAND, best ribbon made, 2s. postage paid. Name typewriter and colour(s).—Lamb's, Adelphi Chambers, Preston.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600 ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central Heating. H. and c. water in bedrooms.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars Crich, Matlock. Station: Ambergate (L.M.S.). Tel: Ambergate 44.

IN THE "VALLEY OF PEACE." Guest House that provides an escape from war atmosphere. Vegetarian Food Reform table. Log fires. Beautiful setting near Beech Woods. Tariff from proprietors: "Fortunes Well." Sheepscot, Stroud, Glos.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B. 5s.; double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Ter. 3572.

WYE VALLEY HOLIDAYS. Guest House and Community Crafts centre. Vegetarian diet.—Barn House, Brockweir, Mon.

Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, E.C.2: 1.10 p.m. Vestry, St. Margaret's Lothbury (behind Bank of England, entrance in St. Margaret's Close); Rev. R. Sorensen, MP, on "Christianity and Peace"; PPU, City of London group.

PINNER: 8 p.m. Vagabonds' Hall, Eastcote Road; John Barclay; PPU.

READING: 8 p.m. Palmer Hall, West Street; Rev. A. R. Sorensen, MP and Eric Gill; chairman: Rev. Booth-Taylor; PPU and For.

SUNDERLAND: 7.30 p.m. YMCA, Toward Road; W. Gordon Carey on "Federal Union and Peace"; PPU.

SWANSEA: 7.30 p.m. Wesley Mission Schoolroom, Goat Street; Laurence Housman and Richard Bishop (chairman); United Pacifist Group.

WORCESTER PARK, SURREY: 7.45 p.m. Co-operative Hall, Longfellow Road; James Avery Joyce; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

BANSTEAD: 8 p.m. Methodist Church Hall; Rev. Martin Tupper; PPU.

BIRMINGHAM: 2.30 p.m. Dick Sheppard House; meet for men's Mass street selling of *Peace News* to support Women's Demonstration; PPU.

CARDIFF: 7 p.m. Cory Hall; Laurence Housman, George M. Ll. Davies and Richard Bishop; chairman, Rev. Ceulanydd Jones; PPU.

EASTLEIGH: 3 p.m. Railway Institute, Market Street; meet for mass *Peace News* selling; PPU.

GLASGOW: 3 p.m. Ruskin Hall, 190 Smithycroft Road, Riddrie; Rev. C. Vincent Williams; PPU.

GODALMING: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Carl Heath on "Basis of Peace"; PPU.

WORCESTER: 3 p.m. Co-operative Institute, Queen Street; Youth Conference on "Peace Aims and World Settlement after the War"; Geoffrey Mander; LNU Youth Group, PPU, Federal Union, etc.

Sunday, February 25

BOURNEMOUTH: 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; Mrs. Goodwin on "The Pacifists of the Great War"; PPU.

HORSHAM: 3.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Worthing Road; Leslie L. Mace on "Moral Re-armament and the Battle for Peace"; PPU.

LITTLEHAMPTON: 8 p.m. Trades Hall, Clifton Road; Basil Painting; PPU.

NELSON (LANCASHIRE): 7.30 p.m. Weavers' Institute, Pendle Street; James Avery Joyce on "The Economic Case Against the War"; chairman: B. Whalley Sidwell; PPU.

Monday, February 26

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.45 p.m. 85 Gresham Road; "Economics"; PPU.

HEMEL Hempstead: 7.30 p.m. St. John's Hall, St. John's Road; Basil Painting and William Samuel (chairman); PPU.

SWINDON: 7.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Andrew Stewart; PPU.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. YWCA Hall, The Lindsens, Penn Road; John Barclay and H. Hilditch on "How can we stop the war now"; PPU.

Tuesday, February 27

KIDDERMINSTER: 7.30 p.m. Carpet Weavers' Hall, Callows Lane, Mill Street; John Barclay and E. J. Jones (chairman); PPU.

LONDON, S.E.1: 8 p.m. Large Hall, Labour Institute, 60b Fort Road; Andrew Stewart on "The Pacifists' Task Now"; PPU and No Conscription League.

LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; PPU members' meeting; A. Stephen Noel on "The Pacifist Revolution"; PPU.

OLDHAM: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Greaves Street; Helen Byles Ford, Doris Langley Moore and Rev. Kathleen M. Hendry (chairman); Women's Peace Campaign.

TOWER HILL: Open-air. 1 p.m.

Wednesday, February 28

COCKFOSTERS: 8 p.m. Church Hall (opposite Tube Station); John Barclay and Rev. B. C. Hobson (chairman); PPU.

LONDON, S.W.12: 8 p.m. Small Trevena Hall, Boundaries Road; Mrs. Arthur Savage on "The State and the Individual"; PPU.

OXFORD: 8.15 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 115 High Street; Sybil Morrison and C. I. Oaten (chairman); PPU.

SOUTHGATE: 8 p.m. Methodist Church, The Bourne; Miss Elsie Pickworth on "What are we to teach our children about war?"; The Bourne Peace Fellowship (PPU and Methodist Peace Fellowship).

STOURBRIDGE: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Scotts Road; H. Hilditch; PPU.

WESTERHAM: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Schoolroom; Basil Painting and Rev. C. Pickford (chairman); Peace Fellowship.

Thursday, February 29

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Trust School, Church Road; Yardley; John S. Hoyland on "Federation and Peace"; PPU.

KENTISH TOWN: 8.15 p.m. Community Shop, 95 Leighton Road; Miss Gurling on "Federal Union"; PPU.

MAIDSTONE: 7 p.m. 348 Loose Road; first of three talks on "After the War—Planning for Peace"; PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Victoria Street; Dr. Alfred Salter, Andrew Stewart and Rev. Morton Barwell (chairman); PPU.

WIMBLEDON: 7.45 p.m. St. George's Hall, St. George's Road; Cecil Wilson, MP, Rev. R. Harvey Field and Lt.-Col. W. L. Owen (chairman); PPU.

Friday, March 1

LOTHBURY: 1.10 p.m. The Vestry, St. Margaret's (back of Bank of England); Preston Benson on "The Censors and the War"; City PPU group.

POINTS FROM LETTERS

(Continued from opposite page)

BISHOP OF GRANTHAM

The Bishop of Grantham has misinterpreted Mr. Baldwin's statement about the strength of pacifist feeling in 1933, in that he attributes that "pacifist feeling" to the pacifist "movement."

Members of pacifist societies do not advocate small armaments, but the total rejection of armaments for other and constructive methods of overcoming evil. The strong "pacifist feeling" in 1933 was not of this nature, but almost entirely a political opposition to war. The strength of the League of Nations Union may be recalled, and the Anti-War Movement launched in 1932 and supported largely by the political Left.

CAECILIA E. M. PUGH, Plymouth.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In seven months it has been announced twice that the engineering trade will shortly need a million men, and in that time, in spite of conscription of both varieties—hunger and age-groups—the arms industry, land workers, and A.R.P. personnel, &c., the total of registered unemployed has increased by 169,317. Broadcasting this month our Minister of Labour said: "Do not wait for a job to look for you. Fit yourself to take a job in the country's armament industry." Easy isn't it? What a situation! It makes the talk of the Brotherhood of Man appear—just talk! And the "war" continues to cost £6,000,000 per day—for what?

WILLIAM G. MILLMAN, National Association against Unemployment, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, W.C.1.

AID FOR INTERNED SEAMEN

Please allow me through your columns to thank all those who responded so promptly and so generously to our recent appeal for clothing for interned German merchant seamen. We have received a fine collection of warm clothing of all kinds, tobacco, and several pounds in cash. The clothing and 'baccy' have been sent to the internment camp for distribution by one in whom we have every confidence, and the money will be expended to meet the needs of the men in the most suitable way.

DENNIS RILEY, Federation Secretary, 13 Beech Avenue, Horsforth, near Leeds.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The Rev. Martin E. Tupper acknowledges with deep gratitude the receipt of two anonymous gifts of 10s. and £5.

SCOTLAND FOR EVER!

By JOHN BARCLAY

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

WHEN the war began in September, a certain number of pacifists—and non-pacifists too—stepped themselves for martyrdom. This was, I believe, a wrong attitude and one which was bound to lead to a state of "suspended animation." Nothing happened and energies which should have been directed along constructive peace-making channels became sterile. The individuals found themselves in the somewhat ridiculous position of being "all dressed up and nowhere to go." The months have passed and a rising tide of pacifist opinion is lifting the public morale and there is a renewed activity from those who were temporarily devitalized.

Nowhere is the new spirit so much in evidence as in Scotland. I have been spending five days touring from group to group from Kilmarnock to Edinburgh and speaking at both public and private meetings, but it was during the long talks I had with individuals, sometimes lasting till three o'clock in the morning, that it became clear to me that the spirit of active pacifism is making itself felt in the groups. It is always inspiring to meet Scottish people, but this time it has not only been inspiring but re-assuring. The warmth of hospitality and the deep religious background of most of the discussions as well as the political awareness of pacifists generally, leads me to believe that in a few months an entirely new forward movement will be manifest.

On my way from London to Glasgow and again from Edinburgh to Oswestry at the end of the tour, I spoke for hours with fellow-passengers and discovered how general is the belief that this war is futile personified. No-one had a good word for it and even those who honestly believe that Hitler is a "devil incarnate" hold out no hope of either his personal death or the end of Hitlerism as a result of continued fighting.

The influence of pacifist thought is illuminating. To give but one instance: two women entered my carriage at Shrewsbury and discussed the rising cost of food supplies. After ten minutes one of them said that it must be worse for German women and expressed the wish for reconciliation. If that can become the subject of widespread conversation, as is obviously happening, then an atmosphere will be created for successful negotiation. The "hate" engendered by headlines in the national press seems to be having the opposite effect to that intended and may easily act as a background against which the pacifist appeal for reason will stand out in bold relief.

I found that *Peace News* and the *Scottish Pacifist* are being widely distributed over the areas I visited, but more people are needed to sell them both. The ILP in Scotland is very strongly anti-war and it is encouraging to hear that the *New Leader* is to be increased to eight pages from March 15.

Every pacifist can now safely dispense with morning newspapers and spend the money thus saved on buying *Peace News*, *The Christian Pacifist* and the *New Leader*, all of which will supply him with new courage and hope.

OSWESTRY has now established a Dick Sheppard centre and on my way back from Scotland I had the privilege of visiting it. It is one of the few centres in the country which has a room large enough to hold public meetings. The evening that I was there a good crowd gathered to hear a talk on "The Defence of Freedom."

Oswestry is a town which seems quite devoid of any progressive movements and the PPU should be able to take the lead in creating a new cultural life. They are planning many meetings, study circles and talks, besides other activities along the lines of social work. Other similar towns, please copy.

What the Groups Are Doing

SCOTLAND gleaned the maximum value from John Barclay's five-day visit, during which he made a comprehensive survey of most parts of the Scottish Area.

On Wednesday, February 14, he made a flying visit to the Greenock group. On Thursday morning he talked with the Glasgow City group, which is composed mainly of newspaper workers; and went on to Kilmarnock where, with W. Oliver Brown, he addressed a big public meeting on the issue of immediate negotiation.

On Friday afternoon a meeting was held in Glasgow University, and at the Glasgow regional meeting in the evening he was given an enthusiastic welcome, and gave a stimulating talk.

On Saturday, in Dundee, at the annual conference of the Angus and North Fife Region, addresses were given by Rev. John Bishop (Perth), Rev. John Anderson (East Fife), Herbert Palmer (Scottish Secretary), and John Barclay. Encouraging reports of activities were given from Dundee groups, Arbroath, Perth, and St. Andrews.

On Sunday in Edinburgh, an open-air meeting was held at the Mound, and in the evening John Barclay addressed a public meeting in the Oddfellows' Hall.

Birmingham A.G.M.

AT the Annual Meeting of the Birmingham PPU on February 10, the following resolution was passed:

"This meeting, representing over 2,000 Birmingham members of the PPU, is of the opinion that war is futile as a means of settling disputes, and with a view to mitigating the terrible loss and suffering of all people, it calls upon the Government to propose an immediate armistice, to be followed by a World Peace Conference, in which all nations, neutral as well as belligerent, should be invited to take part, for the free discussion and just settlement of international grievances."

Leeds Monthly Meeting

ABOUT sixty members attended the monthly meeting of the Leeds group on February 2. It was announced that notices of future meetings would be given in the local press instead of by circular. It is hoped that new members will be attracted in this way.

It was reported that the poster parade arranged for January 20 had had to be abandoned owing to a police ban, but that *Peace News* sellers carried on as usual.

Observers and applicants gave their impression of the local tribunal. Considerable uneasiness was expressed as to the general treatment given. Following the receipt of a suggestion from the West Yorkshire Federation, steps were taken to form a panel to watch the proceedings.

John Barclay in Sussex

JOHN BARCLAY has just paid his first visit to groups in the newly-formed West Sussex Region.

After the public meeting at Bognor, reported last week, he led a discussion mainly for PPU

members, but members of the British Union also asked permission to stay, and their spokesman helped to clear up misunderstandings which may exist between pacifists and the British Fascists.

On Sunday morning, John Barclay spoke at a public meeting at Littlehampton, where C. G. Joiner (West Sussex Regional Secretary) is doing some excellent pioneering work.

East Ham Aid for C.O.s

AT the Central Hall, East Ham, recently, a reading of *The Insect Play* was given to an enthusiastic audience.

This group has opened a scheme for COs, so that members and others can help to alleviate any hardship COs have to face. Many members have also started knitting for COs, and some garments have already been sent.

Progress in Ravensworth

THE RAVENSWORTH (Tyne) group, formed some months ago, is progressing steadily and regular weekly group meetings are held. Recently 500 specimen copies of *Peace News* were distributed to the congregations of three churches in the city.

Several members are keenly interested in the Bensham (Tyneside) Social Centre, where some of the group's meetings have been held with a view to making wider contacts.

Regional Speakers' Panel

AT a recent meeting of the East Hants and West Surrey Region it was decided, following a suggestion from the Portsmouth group, that a Regional Speakers' Panel might be formed.

It is hoped to provide speakers for groups within the Region, and in some cases in neighbouring districts, so that groups may have the advantage of speakers at their meetings.

Mr. R. F. Hatt, Regional Secretary, 1 Manor House, Alton, Hants., is anxious to receive names of any members who are prepared to have their names on the Regional Panel.

It may be that a speakers' travelling expenses scheme will be devised, but in any case, in the initial stages, the Region will pay speakers' expenses.

Portsmouth Support for "G. L."

DESPITE the fact that the two advertised speakers and the chairman were unable to attend through illness, about 300 people attended a meeting at the Central Hall, Fratton, Portsmouth, last Friday. One of the speakers was to have been George Lansbury, who sent a message of encouragement.

Dr. A. Belden, one of the deputy speakers, said he had had the privilege of starting the ball rolling for the candidature of Mr. Lansbury for the Nobel Peace Prize. He proposed a resolution supporting the candidature, which was seconded by Mr. C. H. Coie (Chairman, Portsmouth PPU), who presided, and was carried unanimously.

"If George Lansbury was Prime Minister there would be no war," said Dr. Belden, "not because he would make Great Britain pacifist, but because he would look at the world's problems from a different angle."

Other speakers were the Rev. R. H. Sorensen and Maurice Browne.

THE group at New Southgate continues to flourish, with good attendances at most meetings. Last week the Friends' Meeting House was packed for a public meeting addressed by Reginald Sorensen, MP. Some PPU members came from neighbouring groups, but there were also some non-members—and apparently, a local press representative!

Mr. Sorensen's address was a remarkable one, and was very well received. He showed how "the pacifist technique" was—in greater or less degree—already accepted, in fact, by everyone. He added that a pacifist was one who was prepared to apply the technique more drastically and to this war.

John McNair on Tyneside

"NEVER once was the real hand of friendship stretched out to the people of Germany," said John McNair, Secretary of the ILP, at a meeting of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne and District Branch of the PPU held at the Theosophists' Hall, Barras Bridge, last Friday.

Mr. McNair, himself a native of Tyneside, addressed a meeting of about sixty members for a little over an hour, on the Peace position of the ILP, and provided a telling indictment of war.

Dick Sheppard House for Coventry

MEMBERS of the Coventry groups have recently distributed 22,000 of the leaflet *Nine Reasons for Stopping the War*, which called forth a leader in the local press, and enabled pacifists to figure in the correspondence column.

It is hoped shortly to open a Dick Sheppard House which will be maintained by a number of guarantors who have promised 6d. a week. Furniture, particularly chairs, are urgently needed, and any offers should be addressed to "Hollycroft," Fife Road.



Also try Essona Eau de Cologne at same price.

A Good Turn By a Critic

Copies of "Peace News" ordered last week: 38,429 (250 left on Tuesday evening)
Last week's donations to "Peace News" Fund: £30 13s. 5d.
Total of "Peace News" Fund to date: £507 6s. 6d.

FOR one of the donations to the Peace News Fund included in the fine total shown above we have—indirectly—to thank the *Daily Herald*! It happened this way. Last week that newspaper had a leading article, entitled "That Sixth Column," which declared:

"We know all about the activities of the Fifth Column in Britain.

"Today let us consider the Sixth Column. It consists of those people who through either confusion of mind, weakness of will, or sheer irresponsibility, are constantly seeking to distract us from the vigorous prosecution of the war.

"The Sixth Column is a tiny body. But it makes quite a lot of noise."

But in one case at least these words did not have the effect the *Herald* must have desired. For the very next day Mrs. A. Hayter, of London, wrote to us as follows: "I am enclosing a newspaper cutting from the *Daily Herald*. The editor certainly has a very poor opinion of pacifists. I thought I would like to send 5s. to help a tiny body of people to make more noise. . . ."

★

(The Peace News fund was launched to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's activity the subsidy at present paid to Peace News. Donations of any size will be welcomed and individual acknowledgments will be sent. Cheques should be made payable to Peace News, Ltd., and sent to the Peace Pledge Union, and should be sent to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.)

★

A member of the Westminster Group of the Peace Pledge Union, Mr. Slattery—one of those who has made a small electric sign to enable him to sell Peace News in the black-out—is not content with selling only the paper in the streets. On a special rack which he carries he displays a number of pamphlets, and in the course of a fortnight he has sold as many as a hundred, at prices from 1d. to 6d., in addition to the Peace News he sells.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices:

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Telephone: Stamford Hill 6157

Subscription Rates, home and abroad.

Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

★

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

Please hand this to your Newsagent

To (Newsagent's name)

Please deliver "PEACE NEWS" to me weekly.

Name

Address

as from issue dated

Note to Newsagent:—

"PEACE NEWS" is published weekly as a National Newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 193 23.2.40

HOW ARMY WILL DEAL WITH OBJECTORS

Reply to M.P.s Who Demanded No "Cat and Mouse" Treatment

MR. OLIVER STANLEY, War Minister, has told a deputation of interested M.P.s how it is intended to deal with conscientious objectors in the Army.

The M.P.s had suggested that instructions to Commanding Officers should indicate that conscientious objectors who refuse to obey orders should not be given a number of small sentences but should be court-martialled and sentenced to not less than three months. Under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act such a sentence would give them the right to state their case before the Appellate Tribunal.

Mr. Stanley has now told the deputation that COs who have already appeared before a tribunal were the subject of a letter of instructions issued by the War Office on December 19. This drew attention to the fact that a sentence, suitable to the gravity, circumstances, and deliberate nature of an offence of disobedience of orders, should be given, bearing in mind that a sentence of three months or more will ensure that the soldier gets a further opportunity of stating his case before the Appellate Tribunal.

"Cat and Mouse" Treatment

Soldiers who did not register as COs, or appear before a tribunal, are not subject to this provision, although in other respects they are dealt with similarly to COs who have failed to convince their tribunal. The deputation urged that this type of CO should also be allowed to apply to the Appellate Tribunal, and they have now been told by the Minister that the suggestion is being actively considered.

The deputation also suggested that COs of this category should not be treated on any "cat and mouse" principle, but should be afforded the same treatment as COs who applied to a tribunal and whose claims were rejected. The Minister now declares that instructions to this effect have been issued. It should be pointed out, however, that the War Office letter of instructions referred to above was hardly a specific instruction to give sentences of three months or more.

Civil Prisons for C.O.s

Mr. Stanley has also given the deputation an assurance that civil prisons are to be used for men who, having appeared before a tribunal and their claims rejected, are sentenced for offences committed on grounds of conscientious objection while serving as combatant soldiers. This will be subject to there being sufficient accommodation available, but it is hoped that no difficulties will arise on this account.

The deputation also urged that COs whose claims had been rejected by the tribunal should not be sent immediately overseas, in particular to a theatre of war. The War Minister felt that this point was covered by the fact that this happens in the case of no man until he has first been given the training considered necessary for the particular Corps in which he is serving before going overseas. Men entering the army as members of the Army Class would normally undergo several months' training before going abroad to an actual theatre of operations.

(During discussion in Parliament on May 18, 1939, on the Military Training Bill, Mr. Creech Jones described the "cat and mouse" treatment to which he was subjected as a CO in the last war. Mr. Hore-Belisha, then War Minister, afterwards said that no-one could have listened to his speech "without feeling the utmost sympathy for the experience he underwent and without being inspired by a desire to discover some means of avoiding an occurrence of that kind happening again. Certainly we do not desire that it should happen again.")

Publications for C.O.s

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors (6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1) is publishing, under the title *C. O. Hansard*, a series of extracts from Parliamentary Debates on matters of importance to COs. No. 1, already published, costs 6d. (postage 1d.); No. 2, to be published shortly, will cost 3d. (postage 1d.).

Another informative pamphlet published by the Board is entitled *The Appellate Tribunal*, and costs 6d. (postage 1d.).

The Christian Pacifist Community, 95 Leighton Road, Kentish Town, N.W.5, is partly a haven for stranded pacifists, and also, through its shop, a centre for making friendly contacts with the people of a working-class district, which it tries to serve in increasing measure. It welcomes all kinds of jumble—clothing especially—and visitors, too.

P.P.U. Activity "Treasonable" Says Judge

AT the North-Eastern tribunal for conscientious objectors on Thursday of last week, the chairman, Judge Stewart, said he wondered why the Peace Pledge Union was allowed to exist.

"It is really appalling in view of the country's present emergency," he said. "Conspiracy to achieve things by the methods adopted by the Peace Pledge Union appears to be something definitely wrong."

"I think it is treasonable. Picketing men who are going to register under the Military Service Act in the hope that they might become conscientious objectors is, to say the least, a doubtful proceeding."

In respect of the only specific charge he made against the PPU, that of "picketing" men about to register, the judge's statement was incorrect.

There is no picketing. Members of the PPU who stand outside Labour Exchanges on registration days have been advised by headquarters to distribute only a leaflet, published by the Central Board for COs, giving information as to the rights of COs under the Act and where they may obtain advice. This leaflet is for those who wish to register as conscientious objectors, and who might not otherwise be aware of the information it contains.

Advisory Bureaux

Following are further amendments and additions to the lists of Advisory Bureaux for COs already published in *Peace News*. Any similar changes should be sent to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, and not to *Peace News*.

Alterations

CHELSEA. J. F. Brown, 117 Sloane Street, S.W.1. (Sloane 9535).

HAMPSTEAD. Mr. L. Prescott, 40 King Henry's Road, N.W.3.

KINGSTON-ON-THAMES. Maurice J. Allan, 21, Queen's Court, New Road, Kingston-on-Thames.

LEWISHAM. Charles B. Harding, 46 Kileran Road, S.E.6.

LIVERPOOL. Mr. W. H. Jones, 178 Bedford Street South, Liverpool 7.

Additions

CATERHAM. E. O. Beck, Eirene, 57 Buxton Lane, Caterham.

PUTNEY. Mr. W. A. David, 1 Keswick Lodge, Keswick Road, London, S.W.15.

TRURO. Alfred Rundell, 24 Richmond Hill, Truro.

WORTHING. R. S. Whitwell, 54, Marlowe Road, Worthing.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES. Stephen E. Wright, 44, Windermere Road, Stockton-on-Tees.

The Activist Group (15 Stanhope Street, Levenshulme, Manchester, 19) is running an Advisory Bureau for COs, and is making special efforts to assist the political objector.

All political objectors in the Manchester area are invited to get in touch with the group's secretary at the above address.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, by "Peace News," Ltd. (Registered Office, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1), and printed for them by Buck Bros. & Harding, Ltd. (T.U.), Forest Road, London, E.17.

ASK YOUR NEWSAGENT TO DELIVER "PEACE NEWS" EVERY WEEK

Where Tribunals Are Held

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors (dates are inclusive):

NORTH EASTERN

In County Court, Albion Place, Leeds, 1, on Feb. 26 and 27, Mar. 4, 7, 11, 16, and 21.

NORTH WALES

In County Buildings, Wrexham, Feb. 26 and 27 (10 a.m. and 2 p.m.).

SOUTH WALES

In Civil Court, Law Courts, Cardiff, today (10 a.m. and 2 p.m.). In Guildhall, Swansea, Feb. 7 (11 a.m. and 2 p.m.). In Shire Hall, Carmarthen, Feb. 28 and 29 (10 a.m. and 1.30 p.m.).

SOUTH-WESTERN

In Bristol, today, tomorrow and Feb. 26-29; March 12-14, 27-29.

NORTH-WESTERN

In County Sessions House, Preston, today.

LONDON

In Fulham Town Hall (nearest station, Walham Green) on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in West London County Court, North End Road (stations West Kensington or Barons Court) on Fridays (10 a.m. to 5 p.m.).

SOUTH-EASTERN

In Southwark County Court, Swan Street, off Trinity Street, Borough (stations, Borough or Elephant and Castle) on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (10.30 a.m. to 4 p.m.).

This tribunal also deals with London cases on Tuesdays, when it meets in Bloomsbury County Court, Great Portland Street, at 10.30 a.m.

APPELLATE TRIBUNAL FOR ENGLAND AND WALES

At 1 Abbey Gardens, Great College Street, Westminster, today and February 28 and 29.

New Pamphlet by Eric Gill

The first of the four pamphlets based on the four affirmations drawn up by the Forethought Committee has just been published by the Peace Pledge Union (6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1), price 3d. It is by Eric Gill and is entitled *The Human Person and Society*.

The author describes the dilemma in which we find ourselves—that "if our plutocracy destroys the person, totalitarianism denies it"—and declares: "It is this crisis of our history in which the Peace Pledge Union, by its affirmation of the supreme value of the human person, is determined to make a stand."

A Serial Conference CAN THE WAR STOP?

First Week-end
The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club

Saturday, 2nd March:

3.0 J. MIDDLETON MURRY:

"The Historical Background"

4.30 Tea (6d.)

5.30 Discussion

7.0 Supper (1s.)

8.0 Musical Programme by the Adelphi Musical Group

Sunday, 3rd March:

12.15 Fellowship Meeting, led by MAURICE ROWNTREE

1.0 Lunch (1s. 3d.)

2.0 MAX PLOWMAN:

"Can the War Stop?"

3.30 Tea (6d.)

4.30 Discussion

A fee of 1s. should be sent at least four days in advance to the Secretary, The Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, London, W.1.

STOP PRESS